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TWO ADDRESSES

ON

NEGRO EDUCATION IN THE SOUTH

BY

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INTRODUCTION.

The two following addresses were delivered before Educational Associations, and cannot be construed to be partisan in any sense of the word. They were published in volumes of proceedings and met with a fair share of approval at the time of their delivery. Their re-publication now is prompted not by any acuteness in the Race Problem, which is the same now as it has ever been, affecting alike all sections of the country, but by the growing opposition to the education of the negro which is making itself manifest in some quarters.

Some men of fine intelligence are too ready to despair of the benefits, the moral and intellectual advantages of education to the negro race. I am constrained to believe that these men are blinded by race prejudice, or suffering from a restricted personal narrowness. Within one generation of slavery, with no adequate teachers, with all the obstacles and horrors of the period of Reconstruction, when one side strove to make the negro politically dominant, and the other side fought to restore him to a condition of slavery, how can it be said that negro education has had a fair trial?

The Southern States have continued to tax themselves for the support of negro schools, but in many

places the funds raised for this purpose have been indifferently and unfairly applied by incompetent or partisan school boards, and this evil is on the increase. Besides, there is the sore evil of want of competent and suitable teachers for negro schools and decent schoolhouses to teach in. It has long since been inflexibly decreed by unwritten law that white teachers must not teach negro schools. Therefore, these schools must be and are taught by negro teachers only, who are necessarily inferior teachers, in most cases. This inferiority arises from character, preparation and environment, all of which must be slowly overcome.

It will not do to limit the future by the present. I make these observations for the benefit of those who claim that experience teaches that education does not have the same uplifting and beneficial effect on negroes as it has on other races. Experience teaches nothing of the sort. It has been often said by shallow quidnuncs, that education of the negro spoils a good farm-hand; and it has been well replied that it makes a good farm-head in place of a farm-hand. Even now, no fair man will deny that the negroes do better work and more work than when they were slaves.

Educated labor earns most and pays best, no matter whether it is white or black. This is true, whether the education be manual or mental, or a proper and

harmonious combination of manual, moral and mental training. This is a statistical axiom which the most stupid dare not deny. Every competent observer in the South is bound to agree with me that enlightenment emancipates the negro from superstition, uncleanliness, vice and idleness. Education improves the morality and virtue of the negro, just as it improves the morality and virtue of the other races. Education not only strengthens the mind and makes it better able to comprehend the best way of living, but also fills the mind with ideas, models and facts which stimulate and sustain perseverance in the pathway of virtue and honor. When the mind is fully apprised and keenly understands in what direction the greatest happiness lies, as a rule, it will surely follow that direction. But the road to learning is neither royal nor short, and the South must be patient with the negro in this, as she has been in other matters.

The danger which must be avoided arises from political partisans, whose fortunes have been fattened on the bugaboo of negro domination, and from book-vendors who seek to whet the demand for their wares by virulent appeals to race prejudice. To this class belongs a recent brilliant writer whose holy calling accentuates his alarms, but who has "narrowed his mind, and to party gave up what was meant for mankind."

The most unwholesome feature about The Leopard's Spots is that it puts in the mouth of a pious clergyman the most unreasonable and inhuman protests against the education of the negro. The author reaches the climax of his crusade against the enlightenment of the negro when he sagely tells us that this country must all be mulatto or all white. Unfortunately for this gospel of extermination, we have always had some mulattoes, even in slave times, and there is no sign that their proportion is increasing. Miscegenation in the South has always been and will always be confined to commerce between white men and colored women, and the number of mulattoes in the future will depend absolutely on the extent to which white men restrain their immoral dealings with negro females. It is certain that no mulattoes will be the offspring of white mothers, and a proper exercise of the preacher's talents might greatly diminish the mulattoes with white fathers. This is a grave question which demands the serious attention of the friends of both races in the South. Let those who believe in and demand the highest and purest standard of Anglo-Saxon blood and manhood, begin a crusade against the white men who would lower that standard by mixing their blood with that of an inferior race. The gravity of the situation may be appreciated when I state that, in a town of 10,000 inhabitants, five

hundred negresses are supported in idleness by white paramours. This is something worse than the Social Evil.

However, if moral restraints fail, I believe that education is the best possible means to fortify negro women against the approaches of libertines. Observation proves this to be emphatically true.

Other equally harmful writers make money by gross and ridiculous caricatures of negro dialect and character.

The large body of *ignorant* negroes are thriftless and work and behave themselves alone through fear. But this class is decreasing and scattering. The number of negroes is increasing who have bought and paid for small farms, from forty to sixty acres. Those negroes who are thus acquiring homes make the finest peasantry in the world; they are law-abiding, frugal and industrious. They pay their debts with wonderful fidelity, as every merchant in the South will testify. Their adaptability and aptitude for acquiring the civilization of the white race is amazing, and broadly distinguishes them from the Indian, the Chinaman and other inferior races.

Shakespeare has said that, "Ignorance is the only crime." But whose "crime" is it? Is it not more the crime of the community than of the individual? Whose crime is it that the Southern negroes are so

largely illiterate nearly forty years after they were set free?

I place the responsibility for this crime largely on the shoulders of the Government that emancipated and enfranchised them, and then left them to struggle for an existence among strange and hostile conditions, without the aid and protection that education affords. I have always believed in the principles of the Blair Bill, especially if its aid were limited to the negroes of the South, who have an inalienable and imprescriptible claim on the National Government for aid in their efforts to make good citizens of themselves. This claim exists in full force to-day, and if reason and justice held full sway in the councils of the nation, public aid to the education of the negro would become a live and burning issue. It is time that barren sentimentality, on both sides of the line, should give way to practical work in the solution of live problems.

When the white people of the South found that their slaves were not only set free as a result of the civil war, but that these ex-slaves, in their most impoverished and ignorant state, were made political factors and encouraged to believe that they could rule over their former masters, it was natural that they should resent this humiliating and destructive outrage; it was also inevitable that amid the excite-

ments and terrors of the internecine servile political warfare of Reconstruction, feelings of unwonted bitterness sprang up between the races in the South. In this way the advancement of the emancipated negro was wofully retarded. But even this has not deterred the States of the South from befriending negro education, to their everlasting credit. It is to keep up and enlarge this generous spirit that I make my plea. I want to counteract the effort being made to discourage and prevent the continuance of aid to negro education. It was with this object that I made these addresses, and for this purpose I here re-publish them.

One of the most insidious arguments against aid to negro schools is based on the contention that education will strengthen and benefit the negro in the race conflict which is predicted to be irrepressible. This is a direct appeal to race hatred. It is the argument of those who glory in a fervid race prejudice. To broader minds, it will occur that a race war never takes place under free and civilized institutions. Proscription and extermination appertain to despotic governments and barbarous countries. Where the people rule, broad and humane policies are bound to prevail. The right and the expedient dominate passion and fear and selfish greed. Free government makes men cosmopolitan. In slave times it was

thought to be necessary to make it a statutory crime to teach the negroes how to read and write. There were many men and women in the South who opposed and evaded this law, and regarded it as inhuman repression of the slave mind. But it was defended on the ground that enlightenment of the slaves would render them more independent and increase the danger of insurrection. There were some in the South and many in the North who believed that the negroes would rise and help destroy their masters at the first opportunity. But John Brown found at Harper's Ferry that this was a woful mistake. The negroes did not rise. They remained faithful and true to their masters, and thus, acting differently from any other race under similar circumstances, they showed gratitude for the care and kind attention of the Southern people.

And when war came and the North and the South were grappled in deadly struggle, the negro still refused to engage in a race war, although he knew that the victory of the North meant freedom for him. The negroes believed that the Southern people were their friends, and they rejoiced and cheered whenever news came from the field that "our side" had won a battle. They were obedient and respectful during the entire war. At home they served and took care of their absent masters' property and families. Many of

them went to the army and rendered valuable services not only in the camp but in caring for the wounded and burying the dead. I find but one parallel for such fidelity in history. After the assassination of Julius Cæsar, Antony and Octavius decreed a proscription more terrible and cruel than that of Sulla, and Roman historians tell us of the wonderful devotion of the slaves of the proscribed. Plotius Plancus was concealed in the woods of his farm by his slaves, who endured the most dreadful tortures rather than disclose the hiding place of their master. At length Plancus, unwilling that such faithful slaves should endure further punishment, came forth and presented his neck to the swords of the soldiers. The slave of a certain Senator, who had been proscribed, put his own garments on his master who escaped, while the slave lay down in his master's bed and was slain in his steād. Most justly Seneca exclaims: "Quanti viri est cum præmia proditionis ingentia ostendantur præmium fidei mortem concupiscere!"

It has been well said that the greatest exhibition of self-sacrifice is for a man to die for his friend. But many an old Confederate veteran can tell of instances where Southern negroes faced certain death while carrying their wounded masters from bullet-riddled battle-fields. Such heroic fidelity cannot be forgotten. Nor can we forget that a battalion of negroes fought

bravely under General Jackson at New Orleans. The time may come in the fortunes of the not distant future when negro soldiers will again be needed to repel the invading hordes that will pour down upon us across the boundaries of Canada. In that emergency who doubts the supreme fidelity of the negroes to the highest demands of American citizenship?

I repeat that there is no danger of a race war in the South, and hence the argument that it is necessary to repress the negroes by keeping them in ignorance falls to the ground. The white man's burden is not to exterminate, but to uplift. Every act of inhumanity is an act of self-degradation. Every act of oppression weakens the oppressor. The superior race not only honors and demonstrates its superiority, but also preserves that superiority by acts of kindness and generous assistance to its inferiors.

These sentiments prevail very widely in the South, and, I believe, they are endorsed by all classes of people in the North. President Theodore Roosevelt and Ex-President Cleveland have signified their strong sympathy with the proper education of the American negro, and the example of these illustrious patriots will surely bear fruit in National aid to the education of the negroes in the South. This will be better than Senator Morgan's colonization scheme, and a great deal better than Senator Hanna's pension scheme.

Southern negroes do not need pensions nor colonies. All they want is fair treatment, perfect liberty, education, and, most of all, a good example and good advice from their white neighbors. These things it is possible for them to get in the South and nowhere else on earth.

Perhaps, I believe too much in the uplifting power and influence of education on races as well as individuals. If so, it is not a grievous fault. I believe that education at such schools as those at Carlisle and Hampton has civilized the Indians, and at last made them fit to be absorbed into the great ocean of American citizenhood. I believe that Anglo-Saxon supremacy itself is founded, not on might and blood, but on mental and moral enlightenment. I believe that all the evils of society are due to ignorance, which is twice cursed, cursing the ignorant man and also the man who is tempted to cheat, oppress and enslave the ignorant. Let there be universal education and the neck of monopoly will be broken. Let there be universal education, and crimes and wars and strikes and riots will cease for want of cause and motive. Rapacity and greed will die when they no longer have ignorant victims to feed upon. He who emancipates the minds and souls of men will be the greatest emancipator of all times. Believing these things, I must still plead for universal education.

Let the learned author change his shibboleth into this: the South cannot remain half-educated and half-ignorant. Our salvation requires the leavening of the whole lump. The South needs material prosperity, and, thank God, all the signs of the times are harbingers of its speedy development, and all the heavens are lighting up with the promise of a splendid future. But we of the South will not forget that some things are better and more important than even material prosperity and industrial progress. These are justice, honor and righteousness in our dealings with all men.

Then let us keep up and increase our appropriations for the education of the negroes. Let us give them more schools and better schoolhouses, and better teachers, and longer terms; and so present before the great tribunal of history the noble and sublime spectacle of a superior race guiding and helping an inferior race to a higher plane of character and life;

"For God is marching on."

THE RACE PROBLEM.

[An address delivered before the National Educational Association, at St. Paul, Minn., July, 1890].

The honor of addressing this Association on the most important question of the hour brings with it responsibility, as well as pleasure; apprehension, as well as pride. I should not do justice either to you or to my own sense of inadequacy if I did not begin by disclaiming all hope or ambition to add anything new and important to the discussion of the much-debated race problem. I can but hope, at best, to go over well-trodden ground in a manner not unworthy of this great occasion, and to state some views entertained by many others, as well as by myself, in a calm, faithful, and, if possible, judicial spirit. Let me state in the outset, that there is a Southern problem—a serious, pressing problem—which clamors for a solution; but let me state also that this problem concerns the North as well as the South. It concerns every section and every class of people in this great country; and it is not only the right, but the solemn duty, of every portion of the people to take an active interest in its solution. I call it a Southern problem because its domicile is in the South; but, in truth and in fact, it is as much your problem as it is ours, and neither the bigotry which would claim the ex-

clusive privilege of solving it, nor the cowardice which would shirk responsibility for its solution, can be tolerated in the tribunal of patriotism and pure reason.

I think I may say that the importance of this question is fully appreciated in the North. I intend no sarcasm when I say that the condition of Southern negroes excites more interest in the North than that of any other people on the globe. The horrors of Siberia, where our fellow-beings are daily victims of incredible tortures; Ireland, struggling bravely, but painfully, against the fearful odds of oppression and famine; Australia, where the English shepherd shoots the bushman, on sight, as indifferently as he shoots a rabbit; Africa, where enslavement and oppression of the blacks continue unabated, and the Germans work them to death in their march from Zanzibar to the lakes; or, coming nearer home, the bloody assassinations of homeless Chinamen in the West, and the barbarous treatment of the Indians of North America, which has been aptly called "a century of dishonor"—these, all these tales of wrong and outrage done by man to man, grow dim and insipid beside the reported wrongs of the Southern negroes. I do not blame the precedence given to this question. It has a just basis. We did not bring the Indians nor the Chinamen to this country. We did not and could not civ-

ilize them. From past history, from character and from numbers, the negroes have a greater influence on the affairs of this country than any other alien race can ever have. When we reflect that the presence of the negro changed the face of our institutions and drew lines across our political geography, that he was the bone of contention that shook the republic for fifty years, and that at length he had the power to embroil the whites in civil strife and bloodshed; when we consider what his freedom has meant for him and meant for us, we are bound to acknowledge that too much importance has not been and cannot anywhere be attached to the just and proper settlement of all questions bearing on the rights and duties and the destiny of the negro race in America.

What, then, is the race problem? John C. Calhoun predicted that the abolition of slavery would be followed by continual riot and the widespread use of the dagger and the torch. Experience has proved that he was mistaken. Thomas Jefferson and Abraham Lincoln said, in almost the same words, that the two races of the South could never live together in peace and harmony under a condition of social and political equality. Were these two great men right, or wrong? If the two races cannot live together harmoniously under a condition of social and political equality, how can their relations be modified, without injustice to

the negroes and without danger to the whites, so that permanent peace and harmony may be secured without a separation of the races? This is the question we must study and decide.

There is a school of thinkers who contend that the way to settle this race problem is to let it alone. "Hands off," "Let it adjust itself," "*Laissez faire*" are their strange watchwords. I do not agree with these gentlemen. Great problems never settle themselves for humanity, except with infinite pain and convulsion. They demand a settlement from a brave and thinking people. This race problem cannot be evaded nor suppressed. It must be settled by wise thought and determined action, or it will lead to the natural consequences of every neglected and evaded human problem. In the ninth decade of the eighteenth century there was an unsettled problem in France—the problem of relieving the peasantry from the exactions and oppressions of the nobility! But the problem was let alone. The peasantry, forsooth, were far too low and helpless to cause trouble, and in time the evil would cure itself. So Monseigneur spurned the canaille with his foot, and drove his carriage over their children. But the shadows were all the time thickening. Madame Defarge was knitting the names of the tyrants in her little wine-shop. The down-

trodden slowly gathered courage from desperation, and France was deluged with blood.

It is thus that grave problems always adjust themselves if let alone too long.

There have been other writers who have attracted some public notice who suggest amalgamation—or social equality, which means the same thing in the long run—as a settlement or rather as an extinction of the race question. Those who advocate or predict this solution know little of the feelings and aspirations of either race. Anglo-Saxons never amalgamate; and it is simple justice to say that the negroes are also averse to forfeiting the identity of their race. The race instinct which instills a determination to preserve race distinction and race purity is as strong in both races in the South as that which has kept the Jewish blood pure and distinct among all the nations of the world. It is this race instinct which prompts the Southern whites to raise an impassable barrier against all social intermingling and intermarriage between the races. It is this that makes them denounce the man who counsels or approves social equality or mixed schools as an enemy of both races and a traitor to his own. They have no objection to the negroes attaining and maintaining the highest standard of social worth and virtue. All they wish is for this society to be distinct from theirs. With this

wish the best negroes are in hearty accord. The best colored society in the South is that to which no white person has admittance. There obtains in some social circles of educated negroes a degree of refinement, elegance, taste, gentility, and polished deportment that would surprise and delight every friend of their race. Such social circles do not want nor admit the presence of whites. Why should they? Would you have the negro despise his own race? On the contrary, they justly despise the whites who seek to intermingle with them on terms of social equality. I could give you numberless instances of this. In one instance a white girl ran away with a negro and married him. They fled to a plantation in an adjoining State, and she passed herself off as colored. Some time afterwards a gentleman who had known the girl passed the plantation and saw her washing by the roadside in company with several negro women. He spoke to her and called her name, but she shrank away and almost screamed: "You are mistaken! I am not white! I am a negro!" The fear of the scorn and contempt in which she would be held by her dusky companions, if they learned that she was white, made her forswear the blood in her veins.

If the negroes so condemn treason to race, what wonder that the whites should brand it with a mark deeper and darker than that which disfigured the

brow of Cain! The best people of both races abhor miscegenation. The white paramours of colored women are becoming more and more despised; and though the races live together ten thousand years, the friends of humanity need not fear that the pure racial types will be lost.

But the favorite remedy for the race problem has come to be deportation of the negroes. I am prepared to say with the utmost confidence that this remedy does not meet with general approval, although it is fair to concede that it has many able advocates. The negroes do not desire to leave, and the great majority of the whites do not want them to go. The enforced removal of the negroes would be unnatural and unjust; cruel, bitter cruel, would be the task of tearing the negroes from their genial Southern homes, their Southern friends, their churches, their graveyards, and the haunts they love so well. Sadder than the melancholy procession that moved to the shore from Goldsmith's "Deserted Village," sadder than the doomed band of Acadian farmers that looked for the last time on their burning homes in Grand Pré, would be the final movement of the negroes from the South. It would be worse than slavery; for the negroes in a colony of their own would degenerate and speedily lose the civilization they have derived from contact with the whites. Such a crime could never be for-

given. It would raise a protest from whites and blacks alike, and from an indignant world. The very stones would rise up and cry out against it.

The argument on which the demand for the deportation of the negroes is based may be divided into three postulates. In the first place, it is said that the races are unequal and, hence, cannot live together on terms of equal freedom. This is not true as a general proposition. In all Asiatic countries unequal races live together in peace and harmony. This is true also of Egypt and Morocco; in the latter, five races differing in language, religion and customs, have lived together for centuries without serious disturbance. As to the inherent inferiority so often and so swiftly assigned to the negroes of the South, it might become those who wish to be philosophical to postpone judgment. Of course, there is an immense difference between the races at present in mental and moral development. But from the best information I can get of the process of mental evolution in man, the white race had at least 10,000 years the start of the black race in the march of social evolution on this planet. No wonder, with this advantage on the side of the whites, that the difference between the races should be stupendous; but who dares say that it is inherent? The advance made by the negroes during the 200 years they have resided in America is greater than that made by any

other people during the same length of time. Their progress in every direction has been amazing. They have improved in mind, and heart, and body. Did you ever see any specimens of the original Africans brought to this country? They were, almost without exception, uncouth savages, and physically despicable. They were small of stature, with flabby muscles, flat noses, prognathus faces, ill-shaped limbs, protruding heels, and prehensile toes. This description does not fit the Southern negroes of to-day. Under the influence of civilized customs and habits, they have improved in form and feature, until they have become strong, well proportioned, and can furnish some of the finest specimens of physical manhood in the world. They have improved equally in mental and moral traits. From naked barbarians they have become civilized Christians. From groveling and stupid savages they have become intelligent and industrious workmen, skilled in many of the arts and all of the handicrafts of civilized life. By this vast progress in so short a period, the negroes have demonstrated a capacity, an aptitude for improvement, which should make us hesitate to predict that they cannot finally ascend, under favorable conditions, to the highest heights of human development. In that event the argument based on the inferiority and the color of the negro must vanish. The world will learn "to see

his visage in his mind." And in this connection it would be well for my Southern compatriots to ponder the earnest words of Dr. Haygood: "The negro cannot rise simply because he is black; the white man cannot stay up simply because he is white. A man rises not by the color of his skin, but by intelligence, industry, and integrity. The foremost man in these excellences and virtues must, in the long run, be also the brightest man."

In the next place, it is contended that the two races cannot continue to live together, because there is an ineradicable prejudice between them, and that this race prejudice will always produce hostility, bitterness, jealousy and conflict between the races. I deny the premises on which this argument is based. There is no race antagonism in the South. There is nothing which can properly be called race prejudice. Prejudice implies hatred and dislike. Surely no one would say that the whites hate the negroes or that the negroes hate the whites. Prejudice prompts aversion and avoidance. No such feeling exists among the whites toward the negroes. They desire to have them in their houses, fields, work-shops, and places of entertainment. White and colored children delight to play together. Southern ladies prefer colored servants for cooks, nurses and chambermaids, and treat them in the kindest and most amiable manner. Does

this look like prejudice? The Southern planter is not the foe of the negro laborers. As a rule he treats them fairly, justly and kindly, and I have yet to meet a respectable Southern white man who does not enjoy seeing the negroes exhibit thrift, acquire property, surround themselves with comfort, and rise gradually in the scale of being. Is there any prejudice in all this?

I know that there is an arbitrary prejudice against the negro race which is well-nigh universal. It exists in the North and it exists in Europe. Even Charles Lamb, the gentlest and humanest of philosophers, has said:

"In the negro countenance you will often meet with strong traits of benignity. I have felt yearnings of tenderness towards some of these faces, or rather masks, that have looked out kindly upon one in casual encounters, in the streets and highways. I love what Fuller beautifully calls these 'images of God cut in ebony.' But I should not like to associate with them, to share my meals and my good nights with them—because they are black."

Candor will compel us all to say the same thing. But this is a matter of taste, about which there can be no dispute. What I contend is that there is no race antipathy, no sentiment on the part of the whites toward the negroes that seek to injure or wrong them, that would keep them down or prevent their rising in all the elements that constitute worth and manhood. There has never been any such feeling between the races. The negroes reciprocate the kind feelings of

the whites. It is only the grossly ignorant negro who is suspicious of his white neighbor. I have never known a fairly bright negro, uninfluenced by designing aliens, that did not have more confidence in the kindness and justice of Southern white men than in anybody else in the world. They show this confidence, in spite of all our political troubles, year in and year out. They show their trust in the Southern whites by their labor and devotion, by their happiness and content. Why, the negroes are the happiest peasantry in the world. They never know what it is to want work, the bitterest want that man can feel. Better clothed, better fed, better housed, better paid than the white laborers in England or Pennsylvania, they have a right to be satisfied with their lot, so far as the present is concerned. I wish I could show you one of the plantations of Richardson, the largest cotton planter in the South. A white cottage with three rooms, neatly ceiled, well ventilated, with a nice, cool portico, is furnished to each family. Gardens, orchards, vines and flowers surround these cozy homes. Here live a happy and contented people, with well-clad wives and children, plenty of fuel and provisions, congenial work, good wages, and many holidays and amusements. The man who thinks these people are down-trodden is a fool. The man who thinks they entertain an ineradicable prejudice

against the whites is little better. There are many things which the Southern negroes do not know that they ought to know; but they do know that the Southern whites have been and are their best friends; and I believe in their heart of hearts they are more grateful, as they ought to be, to the people who gave them Christianity and civilization, than to those who gave them freedom. We may, therefore, dismiss the demand for deportation as unnecessary, and not justified either by the sentiments of the whites or by the character of the negro.

In my judgment the race trouble in the South springs from the unqualified right of the negro to vote. The apprehension of negro rule, and the total incapacity of the negroes to exercise the power which the right of suffrage gives them for their own good or the good of the community where they live, are the sole causes of whatever race conflict and race bitterness have existed in the South since the war.

The chief difficulty in the way of a proper statement and understanding of the race problem has been the total and persistent misconception in the North of the true relations between the races and the true character of the negroes. Ever since Mrs. Stowe painted Uncle Tom as an epitome of the Sermon on the Mount, Northern people have believed that the negroes are supernaturally gentle and pious and

faithful. Because they are black, you conceived that they were different from the balance of mankind; were long-suffering under abuse; self-sacrificing, and ready to forgive injuries. This fairy tale vanishes before the light of truth. The negro, like other mortals, hates his enemies. If you prick him, he bleeds; if you tickle him, he laughs; if you poison him, he dies. Likewise, he complains of injustice and resents a wrong. In these respects he is neither better nor worse than the rest of the world. Therefore, the affection and attachment undoubtedly shown by the slaves for their owners during the war is the best possible evidence that they were not abused and oppressed, and that the charge that there is "an unconscious habit of oppression" in the South is a malicious myth. Water will not run up hill. Oppression will not beget affection. The Helots of Sparta abandoned their masters when they had most need of their assistance. That was a just retribution for the inhuman crypteia. But the negroes did not desert their masters during the war nor after the war, and this fact will stand forever in rebuttal of the flippant charge that American slavery was a cruel barbarism. I will not lift the coffin-lid which hides the pallid features of that dead institution. I believe that slavery was a curse to the white people of the South. While it cultivated and expanded the affec-

tions and sympathies, it also cultivated and encouraged apathy and lethargy of body and mind, and the sons of the largest slaveholders were rapidly degenerating when the war broke out. The institution of slavery injured the bone and sinew and brains of the Southern whites, and I hope some day to see them raise a monument to Lincoln and Grant for abolishing it!

But the final verdict of impartial history will declare that American slavery was an unmixed blessing to the African race, for by no other conceivable means could that race have been prepared for freedom. By no other means, this side the domain of miracle, could they have acquired the knowledge, the discipline, the characters which they possessed when emancipated.

I do not assume, as some persons do, to speak of the plans and purposes of Divine Providence. But it does seem peculiarly fortunate that the negro found his home in the South. There he found a climate that welcomed him with airs more genial than ever fanned his brow in his native continent. There Nature, in unison with his own warm fancy, took him in her soft arms, and radiant skies dropped for him the manna of peace and health and sweet content. But above all, there he found a gentle, tolerant, generous, open-hearted race of whites, who took him by the hand and led him like a child. Who can esti-

mate the blessing of falling into the hands of such liberal, unselfish, humane masters? The negro was not an intellectual being like Hawthorne's Marble Faun; with nothing abstract or calculating about him, he was endowed with a capacity for strong and warm attachment, with impulsive faith and trusting simplicity. With these endowments it was natural that he should be keenly sensitive to kind impressions. He absorbed the virtues and the civilization of his masters; learned their language; embraced their religion; adapted his whole life to their ideas, until there sprang up between the races a relationship, peculiar perhaps, but kind and tender as any human tie that ever stretched from heart to heart. Every virtue, every excellence, every good quality that the negro possessed he owed to his contact with the Southern whites; and he is conscious of his deep and everlasting obligation to them.

This was the state of feeling between the races of the South when the war ended, and it bade fair to continue and flourish under freedom. Then came that masterpiece of confusion, the granting of suffrage to these simple ex-slaves, and their consequent delivery to the tender mercies of the camp-followers that skulked in the wake of the conquering Northern army. The poor, deluded negro listened to those who claimed to be his special friends, and the Iliad of

our woes began. Negro rule, with all its horrors, enveloped the South. The evils of that rule cannot be exaggerated. It was a carnival of crime and corruption. It destroyed all values and burdened all callings. It ruined both whites and negroes. It bankrupted States and municipalities. It drove away commerce. It blighted industry, made law and public order a farce, and rendered all progress impossible.

Ancient history tells of an ambitious youth who demanded permission to guide the steeds of the solar chariot for one day. The sun god reluctantly consented, but warned him of the dangers of the road. Phaëton grasped the reins, the flame-breathing steeds sprang forward, but, not feeling the well-known hand, they ran off the track; the world was set on fire, and a total conflagration would have ensued had not Jupiter launched his swiftest thunderbolt and hurled the young driver from his seat.

The attempt of the negro to guide the ship of state was as disastrous as Phaëton's ride. The fact that he was checked in his mad course; the fact that negro domination was overthrown and forever abolished in the South; this fact alone preserved both races from destruction and enabled the South to become what she is to-day. It was not race prejudice, but self-preservation, that caused this overthrow.

But the apprehension, the menace of negro rule,

remains and poisons the political relations of the races. Like a sleeping volcano it causes distrust and alarm, and generates a spirit of hostile watchfulness that is inimical to peace and harmony. To remedy this evil is the true race problem.

If England, which since the revolution of 1688 has maintained the most rational, consistent, secure and best-balanced government on earth, had to deal with this race problem, there can be no doubt what her settlement of it would have been. She might have committed the blunder of giving suffrage and citizenship to the negroes, but she would have speedily retrieved that mistake. Take for example her treatment of the same problem in Jamaica. After the negroes were emancipated there, a colonial government was erected, giving the right of suffrage to the negroes, restricted, however, by a large property qualification which disfranchised most of them. Even with this restriction, negro suffrage caused so much conflict and trouble that Jamaica was compelled to surrender her government and take shelter under the crown. Froude tells us, and he ought to know, that when England adopted a new colonial policy and established practically independent governments in Canada, Australia, and South Africa, there was a design to create the same kind of government in the West Indies; but that design was abandoned because it was considered, in the light of

reason and experience, impossible to confer the rights of full citizenship on the negroes. Rather than do so foolish a thing the projectors of the federation of the British Empire gave up their grand conception. If the South had belonged to England she would have disfranchised the negroes twenty years ago and formed a separate code of laws and a separate bureau of administration for their protection and government.

But England is always unjust, no matter how wise she may be. The repeal of the fifteenth amendment would be unfair and unjust, and Americans cannot afford to base their policy on injustice. It is also vain and idle to talk about the negroes voluntarily relinquishing the right to vote as proposed lately by a distinguished writer in "Belford's Magazine." The Democrats themselves would not permit this. As long as the negro has the right of suffrage he will be deluded or forced into using it by one party or the other. He has been and will continue to be politically the alternate victim of fraud and force.

Nor can the question be settled by Federal election laws. There is nothing statesmanlike about such measures. Every such law can have but one purpose, one tendency, and, if enforced, but one result—the restoration of negro rule. This would not settle the question, but aggravate it, and multiply evils that

would fall with terrible emphasis on white and black alike, and on the peace, business and prosperity of the whole country in the end.

There is but one remedy left, and that is a restriction of negro suffrage, and there is but one restriction consonant with justice—the restriction of an educational qualification for the right of suffrage to be adopted and enforced by the General Government. I have no time to elaborate the arguments in favor of this settlement of the race problem. I believe it would be for the best interests of the whole country. I believe it would cure all the conflicts, all the bitterness, all the prejudices that spring out of negro citizenship. I believe it would be accepted by the negroes as a fair basis of settlement, for it would leave the right of suffrage to all who are fit to exercise it, and put it in the power of every one to qualify himself for that high privilege.

It would, perhaps, be wasting words to argue with those journalists who argue that education does not benefit the negro and would not improve his capacity to vote. Dazzled by the peculiar brilliancy of their own minds, they only get a dim and imperfect view of the minds of others. Every one competent to speak, and honest enough to be candid, knows that education benefits and improves the negro. It improves

his morals, his character, and his usefulness. It makes him a better man and a better citizen, a better neighbor and a better workman, no matter what you put him at. The slave-owners learned that it paid to take good care of their slaves, and the people of the South will learn that it pays to educate their negro employés. Above all things, education of the negro diminishes, if it does not totally banish, all danger of race conflict and trouble. This is the lesson of actual experience. Dr. Hitchcock, the able president of Straight University, in New Orleans, assures me that those students who stay with them until they take a full course and become thorough students never have any trouble with the whites in the communities where they teach, preach, or follow other professions; while, on the other hand, those who study six months or a year, and then think they know everything, are almost certain to figure in a race-riot pretty soon after they leave school. This shows how much more thorough negro education should be. There is no doubt that a mere smattering of book-learning, taught by a teacher whose mental and moral training is imperfect, does the negro harm; and such education would harm white children, too. But we should not, therefore, condemn all education. We should elevate the standard of the character and qualifications of

teachers of negro schools. We should give the negroes moral and industrial training as well as literary instruction. Ruskin has most truly said:

"The entire object of true education is to make people not merely *do* the right things, but *enjoy* the right things; not merely learned, but to love knowledge; not merely pure, but to love purity; not merely just, but to hunger and thirst after justice."

Let us give the negroes this sort of education; educate not their heads only, but their hearts and their hands, before we assume to say that they are not capable of the highest improvement. The South, I admit, is unable to give them such teachers and such instruction; but the nation is able to pay for it; and I affirm that it is the duty of the nation to educate the negroes, not only because the education of the negro is for the best interests of the country, and essential to the perpetuity of free institutions, but it is a reparation which the nation owes to the negro for the injustice done him in the past. To serve its own ends, to procure its own safety, the nation emancipated the negroes. It severed the old ties, the old checks and supports, and threw them, unprepared and unprotected, into the boiling, seething sea of freedom and politics, and then deserted them to their fate. Blacker and deeper than the sin of slavery was the sin of placing the burdens and responsibilities of full citizenship on the backs of the negroes, and then re-

fusing to prepare them for the discharge of those perilous duties. The failure of the Federal Government to educate the slaves they made freemen is a shame and a disgrace, a scarlet letter on the garb of our history, a stigma, which, like the damned spot that soiled the little hand of Lady Macbeth, will never out until that wrong has been repaired.

Let the opponents of the Blair bill make the most of their unworthy victory. Let them hide their narrow heads under the thin disguise of constitutional scruples; the fact remains that they are at heart opposed to all public education, and devoid of any sense of justice to the negro race. I trust that I may be permitted to express the hope that when the patriotic Senator renews his proposition, he will make the relief apply exclusively to the negroes who were set free and their children. That will present the issue squarely.

I cannot sympathize with those who contend that the General Government has no right or "business" to interfere with or concern itself about education. I know of but one government in which the acquisition of knowledge was discouraged, and that was the dual autocracy established in the Garden of Eden. We all know what a miserable failure that government proved to be. Ever since then the dissemination of learning has been held to be the highest and most natural

function of a true government, no matter what its form or the scope of its powers. Most especially is a free government interested in the education of its people. Enlightenment is the foe of slavery and the friend of freedom. Intelligence is the foster-parent of liberty. I yield to no one in my devotion to the doctrines of States' rights, home rule, and adherence to the Constitution; and yet I would be glad to see the flag of the Union float over every schoolhouse in the land. I believe that the nation would derive nothing but glory from engaging in the business of popular education. The grandest institutions in this country are our common schools.

There are pearls in our gulfs and bays. There are precious stones of brilliant hue and dazzling ray on our mountain-tops. Veins of gold and silver run through the fretted hills, whose sides are heaped with agate, topaz, ruby, garnet, sapphire, and other gems of rarest form and richest color. But these are not the pride of America. The public schools are the pride of America. Not crowns and scimitars and diamond stars, not gems nor pearls, not silver and gold, but her common schools—these are the crown jewels of America! And he who preserves them best shall be garlanded with a civic crown.

Then let us put education into the Constitution of the United States. Let us put a premium on intelli-

gence and build the temple of our national renown upon the bed-rock of popular enlightenment. There will be many obstacles in the way of such a settlement of the race question. Chief among these obstacles are a partisan press and a shallow, selfish statesmanship. The amount of misrepresentation on the subject of the race problem constantly made by partisan journals of both parties almost exceeds credibility. The mission of the public press is a grand one. Its power for good, when independent and honest, is beyond calculation. When its responsibilities are appreciated, when its information is carefully sifted, when its opinions are formed and announced with judicial fairness, purity and wisdom, it surpasses all other agencies as the instructor, guide and friend of man, and champion of right and truth. But this is not the mission of the partisan press of this country. Subservient to the demands of party, it lies on one side or the other until well-posted people have ceased to believe or trust anything that appears in the columns of a large majority of partisan papers. In the presence of grave issues partisan journalism is a damnable vocation. Such journalism has done infinite harm in the discussion of the race problem, and if that problem, or, indeed, any other, is ever settled on a just and righteous basis, the influence of a bitter, partisan, un-

reliable press, both North and South, will have to be largely decreased.

Another obstacle to any wise reform is the superficial trimmer style with which our great men treat this troublesome question. There is something in the power and responsibility of high political station which ought to purify and elevate the heart and mind. But what do we see? Men who masquerade as statesmen at Washington dodging this grave issue, or only handling it sufficiently to meet the exigencies of a campaign or tide over the crisis of an election. They will not look to the future and unselfishly provide for the general welfare.

It was not always so with our statesmen. There was, at least, one great practical statesman who was too broad to be confined by sectional lines, too wise to be swayed by sectional ambition, and too patriotic to be proud of sectional applause. Henry Clay was equally popular at the North and at the South. His heart took in the whole people. Untouched by local issues, unsoiled by love of self, unchecked by the limits of country and clime, his brave soul leaped to the defense of liberty, the chastisement of oppression, and the protection of humanity all over the world. Many-sided, comprehensive, alert, bold and cautious, original and conservative, he defended every bulwark and led in every reform. Conspicuous, pure and

fearless, he wore a white plume on every field of battle. Eloquence, with white wings, hovered above him, and said, "This is my beloved son!" He walked upon the sea of popular clamor, and bade its waves be still. He felt the pulse of the people, and his great heart throbbed in unison with theirs. He put the right above the expedient in every crisis of life, and in all lands on which the light of history shall shine the patriot must think and speak in the same breath of public virtue and Henry Clay. As I stood at the feet of his recumbent marble statute at Lexington, thinking of all he did, all he was, and all he wrought for, I could not help exclaim: "O, master, if you had remained with us, there would have been no war between the sections!" Oh, if his spirit could fall like a mantle on the halls of Congress, there would be a revival of broad and lofty statesmanship that would not leave this race problem as an odious heritage to vex the future. But it is not always the men in position who do most in a free country. As individuals who create and form public sentiment, we can effectually aid in working out this problem. It has been said that none of us is responsible for his thoughts and ideas—that we are but particles of the age in which we live, believing and thinking, working and desiring in common with the great mass, which we cannot control, and from which we cannot separate

ourselves. I do not accept this doctrine. I believe in individuality. I believe in independent conscience and responsibility. I have had occasion, as no doubt everyone present has, to examine for myself the question whether life is worth living. And I could not reach an affirmative answer, except by premising that life should be spent in serving others. Self-glorification is not a sufficient incentive to live. Self-development, self-improvement will not answer; or, if it did, it would be found that nothing else so expands and exalts self as altruistic work.

In this spirit I appeal to you, true men and women of the North. The South calls to you. Not as a mendicant, but as a sister, she cries, "Come over into Macedonia and help us!" Help us to solve this race problem on a fair and just basis; a basis that will stand the test of ultimate truth, and right, and honor. The South will welcome your assistance. She harbors no resentment. She seeks no reprisals. I confess that there was a time since the war that we hated the people of the North, and did not like to see them come among us. But

> "Consideration, like an angel, came
> And whipped the offending Adam out of us."

In the midst of pestilence and flood, we came to know that the people of the North are a generous and true-hearted people, a chivalrous, patriotic and just

people, who always succor the weak, the suffering, and the oppressed. And now we want your good will, your good words, your trade, your capital, your people. The South is proud of the North, proud of New England, proud of the mighty West, and she wants you to be proud of her. She will yet command the admiration of the world, and, if she can, in a fair race, she will outstrip you all in art, industry, commerce, science, and literature, just as

"Captive Greece led captive her proud conqueror."

In the feelings I express and the sentiments I utter on this occasion, I represent the generation in the South which did not take part in the war. We were boys beneath our teens when the drama opened at Fort Sumter. We watched with keen delight the Southern soldiers go forth to battle, gay and confident, blessed with the smiles of beauty, with banners flying, in all the

"Pride, pomp, and circumstance of glorious war."

And then we saw them come back, when all was over, come back in silence and defeat, with no banners or music or smiles to welcome them. But in that hour of darkness we heard no word of repining from those men. We saw them wipe the battle-sweat from their brows and take up the raveled threads of life with cheerfulness and zeal, saw them face desolation and poverty with calmness and fortitude, comforting the

disconsolate, caring for the wounded and infirm, encouraging the young and tender, adapting their spirits and their energies to a new order of things, working with might and main to repair the ravages of war, working amidst obloquy, confusion and obstruction, working with tireless vim, without a murmur and without pausing to shed a natural tear over the grave of buried hopes! And when we saw this, I tell you we thought those old soldiers were the grandest men on earth. It is no use talking to us about those men! "Perplexed in the extreme," they may have done something wrong, but their triumph is that the new generation in the South worship them as heroes who never lost their honor and manhood, even at Appomattox Court House.

But we love the Union too. We devoutly believe in the perpetuity of this great government. We thank God that the danger which disturbed the vision of Webster, "of States dissevered, discordant, belligerent," has passed, like a troubled dream, away. We look into the future of our country with hope and gladness, and the further we gaze the further we go into the depths of her career, new honors and new triumphs come out and cluster around her pathway, and in all the myriad of stars that blaze in her firmament no star differeth from another star in glory!

THE PROBLEM OF NEGRO EDUCATION.

[Address before Southern Educational Association, at Atlanta, Ga., July 5, 1892.]

There are seven millions of negroes in the South, more than twice as many people as inhabited the American colonies at the time of the Revolution, more than three times as many people as inhabited Alsace-Lorraine, which more than once unsettled the governments of Europe. If the subject which I shall discuss concerned the happiness, welfare, and preservation of these people alone, it would be a subject of tremendous import, but it concerns not only the negroes, but also the whites of the South, and embraces in its far-reaching scope the liberties, the progress, the civilization, and honor of our entire people.

I speak from the standpoint of one who is proud of the course which the Southern States have pursued with regard to negro education and ready to champion that course against all critics, let them be who they may.

I shall treat the subject under three general heads:

1. What the South has done for negro education.
2. What the South ought to do for negro education.
3. What the South will do for negro education.

1. I shall not worry with statistics. One can find rows of figures and tables in books easily accessible to

all. I simply wish to state in round numbers that every State in the South during the last twenty years has appropriated and spent millions of dollars for negro education. In all of these States the whites own on the average 19-20 of the property and pay 19-20 of the State taxes for all purposes. The negroes own 1-20 of the property and pay less than that proportion of the taxes. Yet the school funds are impartially distributed between the races according to the enrollment of children of school age. The principal contribution of the negro to the school funds is his poll tax, and in all the States he receives largely more than this. In other words, the Southern people, the much abused whites of the South, for they have had absolute control of the State government for the last 15 years, have constantly and cheerfully paid the taxes to keep up the general expenses of the government and also paid, freely and promptly, taxes to help educate the negro children.

In Louisiana the negroes pay less than 1-10 of the taxes and receive more than 1-3 of the school fund. In Mississippi it is the same. In Alabama the negroes pay 1-20 of the taxes and have received more than 2-5 of the school funds collected in the last twenty years. In Georgia the disproportion between the amounts paid and the amounts received by the negroes is still more astounding.

When we remember that some of these school funds, so impartially divided with the negroes, are the interest on township funds and other permanent funds acquired long before the war; when we remember that the negroes cause largely more than their share of the expenses of running the government, and remember all the facts surrounding and succeeding their emancipation; how they plunged the white people into a maelstrom of ruin and debt and levied on them a tribute more exacting and more exhausting than ever paid by any other defeated people in ancient or modern times; when we remember the trouble which their freedom gave the South, the bitterness and abuse poured on them by extremists of the North; when we remember all these things and then remember that in their exhausted and crippled condition immediately following the distress and desolation and darkness of reconstruction, the Southern whites continued to liberally endow and support schools for the free education of the negro children, I think all will agree that there is no grander spectacle in the annals of history. Don't say that the negroes by their labor enable the landowner to pay taxes. This is an ingenious fallacy. No more rent is charged than should be if there were no taxes. Taxes come out of the land and not out of the labor. This is a principle of political economy and every one familiar

with the business of the South knows that the landowner keeps up and supports the negro laborers, as evidenced by the fact that the largest employers of negroes are surely growing bankrupt. The truth is palpable and cannot be averted. The men who own the property pay the taxes and the negroes who do not own the property enjoy the taxes.

I call the world's attention to this fact. Impoverished, harassed, abused, cursed with all the burdens and blessed with none of the benefits of federal legistion, the white taxpayers and property holders of the South have gone on contributing to the cultivation and upbuilding of a race whose passions and prejudices have been stirred up against them. When was the like ever seen before?

It is not meant to be unjust or unkind to anybody. I am willing to recognize the philanthropy and munificence of Peabody and Slater and other benefactors, and I do not complain of those who love to eulogize those friends of negro education. But for my part, I rather dwell on the philanthropy and beneficence of the Southern people themselves, and I cannot place their friendship for the negro race second to any.

Mark Antony, in that wonderful oration which Shakespeare makes him speak to the Romans, when referring to the will of Cæsar, says :

"Let but the commons hear this testament
(Which, pardon me, I do not mean to read)
And they would go and kiss dead Cæsar's wounds,
And dip their napkins in his sacred blood;
Yea, beg a hair of him for memory,
And, dying, mention it within their wills,
Bequeathing it, as a rich legacy,
Unto their issue."

And it seems to me that if the negroes of the South would understand how kind, how generous, how charitable the whites have been to them, if they would consider and reflect on the self-sacrifice, the loss, the endurance, and the true nobility of soul involved in the efforts of the whites to educate the negro children under so many provocations and disadvantages—it seems to me if they would know and appreciate all these things, that the negroes would admire and trust, and even adore their white neighbors as their truest and purest friends. I believe they do. Confidence is a plant of slow growth, but it has at last sprung up in the bosom of the negroes. In spite of a thousand drawbacks the negroes again look with confidence, esteem, and affection upon their white fellow-citizens and have forever turned their backs on the radical friends who would convert them into drunken Calibans, and the diabolical Iagos, who would mold them into credulous and murderous Othellos.

I said I would not be unkind to any one, but I have no patience with the Pecksniffian pharisaism of those

who dare to criticise the conduct of the South toward the negro while congratulating themselves on their superior virtue. The negroes of Massachusetts have not advanced socially and intellectually during a hundred years of freedom. In less than one-fourth the time the negroes of the South have advanced immensely in every direction. I would gladly conciliate all the help possible from the North to educate and elevate the negro. We need all the help we can get. I devoutly thank the noble men and women, no matter whence they come, who have shown their faith in negro education by their works. But for those who depreciate and misrepresent the views and actions of the South, who refuse to give her credit for her heroic efforts to enlighten an enfranchised race, I have nothing but abysmal contempt and bold defiance.

The South's treatment of the negro is perfection itself compared with the North's treatment not only of the Indians and Chinese, but the teeming millions of white slaves that throng her marts.

There are thousands of able-bodied men in the City of New York who have had no supper to-day and who will get no breakfast to-morrow. There are no supperless negroes in the South. To-day there are thousands of wretched women in the City of New York with but one garment and that a ragged one. There are no unclad negro women in the South,

winter or summer. All over the North there are men and women who do not sleep on a bed from beginning to end of the year and do not know in the morning where they will find shelter at night. There are no homeless negroes in the South. All over the North paupers, beggars, and tramps are ceaselessly beating the country with their weary feet in a race for bread. There are no negro paupers, no negro tramps or beggars in the South. Let the censors of the South look nearer home. While they are busy searching for the mote that is in our eyes, a whole forest of beams sticks out of their sightless moral sockets.

2. While we have cause to congratulate ourselves on what the South has done for negro education, we cannot disguise from ourselves the fact that there is a growing dissatisfaction with the system and a tendency on the part of many to regard the money spent on negro education as wasted or as robbery of the white children. Consequently an increasing number of people are disposed to advocate the withdrawal of support from negro schools except to the extent of the taxes paid by the negroes, which would virtually abolish those schools. This is the alarming tendency which all wise and good citizens wish to counteract.

It is my duty to speak plainly. Love of the South is the lamp by which my feet are guided. I am totally opposed to the South's abridging its aid to negro edu-

cation. In my judgment an abridgment would be detrimental and, in the long run, perhaps fatal to her material and moral interests. I believe that the South should educate the negro at the public expense, because it makes of him a more useful and valuable citizen. No one can deny that education makes the negro, as it does the whites, more peaceable and orderly, and thereby decreases the criminal expenses of the state. I deny that a reduction of the percentage of the illiteracy among the negroes increases the percentage of crime. This is not true in any land under the sun. There are instances well marked, like the dreams that come true, where so-called educated negroes have become the insolent and lawless leaders of riots—but these are exceptions, or rather it will be found in every such instance that they have but a smattering of education, "a little learning," which is not only a dangerous but a poisonous thing when it is not mixed with moral character. But in the main the best educated negroes are the most law-abiding, the most respectable and respectful, because they perceive and understand the true conditions under which they live. The negro burglars and robbers and assailants of women are without exception most densely and brutishly ignorant. The class of young negroes who are growing up and who are expected to be so dangerous in the future can be saved from a cruel fate only by constant and close teaching

in the public schools. It is said that education renders the negro thriftless and worthless as a laborer. This is not true. The assessment rolls of the Southern States show that the negroes are acquiring more property in towns and cities and in communities where they are largely in the minority than in places where they constitute nearly the entire population, and it is precisely in those places where their constant contact with the whites accelerates enlightenment that they are most thrifty. It must be so. Educated labor is skilled labor. Skilled labor is money-making labor. It has been said that knowledge is power and again that knowledge is beauty. But I preach the new doctrine, that knowledge is wealth—wealth for the individual, wealth for the world, but more especially wealth for the nation. Education pays. It can be coined free of charge into dollars and cents at every mint in the world.

Skilled labor is what the South most needs to-day. John C. Calhoun said that the South did not want skilled labor in the days of slavery and he opposed the encouragement of manufactories in the South because he said they would require the introduction of educated labor, which, in his judgment, was hostile to the institution of slavery. For the same reason the laws of the Southern States forbade the teaching of slaves, because education is incompatible with bondage. The

result was that in the South the agricultural labor became, and to a considerable extent remains to-day, the most ignorant in the world. But in the glare of battle, by the flash of the musket and cannon, the South saw the necessity of a new industrial policy, and another day dawned on her progress. Since the war our most enlightened people have recognized the imperative duty of establishing manufactories in the South, and where our people have been most enlightened and progressive this new policy has been most adopted.

In Georgia, where the old labor regime had borne its ripest fruits, whether for good or for evil, the manufacturing policy was earliest welcomed and has flourished most. At its touch old things became new. Poverty flew before its approach and new industries sprang up beneath its tread. And across these worn-out fields that were abandoned fifty years ago, there floated a music sweeter to my Southern ears than the wordless songs of Mendelssohn, sweeter than the symphonies of Beethoven, sweeter than the oratorios of Handel—the music of the cotton mills, the music of the future for the South.

To carry this policy to its full fruition is the mission of the highest Southern genius and patriotism. Education is the instrumentality through which it must be done. Education alone will convert our thriftless, awkward labor into thrifty, skilled labor, ready for

the mine, the factory, the foundry and all the diversified and developed enterprises that accompany them. Ignorant labor is unprofitable labor. It is not overproduction that afflicts the South. It is not false economy nor idleness nor apathy that causes the terrible agricultural depression that prevails. It is the agglomerated ignorance of negro labor that makes it a burden, a drain instead of a resource, a load instead of a gain.

This worthless system of labor binds the South to the juggernaut of borrowed capital. It is the hard condition of imperious necessity that makes us the reluctant victim of grinding monopoly and the ignorance of our labor prevents our escape. We can never hope to become independent in the South industrially, financially, and commercially, until the great body of our laboring population are more intelligent and productive and self-supporting. The ignorance of the blacks makes both them and their employers the worst of slaves to the money power, whose lictors are monopolies and trusts.

In the southern part of this hemisphere, where nature loves to riot in mad excess, there is a man-eating plant of giant size and monstrous form. Its tentaculated foliage entraps its victim and safely folds him in the embrace of death, sucking the blood and substance from the body and leaving it a dry and shapeless

wreck. We have no man-eating plants in this part of the western hemisphere. North America does not produce such monstrous vegetation. But we have an odious institution, a devilish parisitic social growth called the trust, which does the work as well. It, too, is a blood-sucking arrangement and with its horrible monopolistic mouths it devours the life and substance and souls of men and leaves them cold and pallid in its wake.

What shall deliver us from the body of this death? I know not unless it be education, virtuous, patriotic, thorough, universal education.

There are other material and utilitarian reasons why the South should continue to educate the negroes, who form and must for a long time form a large part of the citizenhood. But there are higher and more potent considerations that enforce the same postulate. One of these considerations is that it would be unjust to the negroes to deprive them of an opportunity to gain an education as long as it is in our power to give them such an opportunity. No State or nation can afford to do an act of passive or positive injustice. The words of Carlyle are worthy to be held in remembrance by statesmen:

"Justice, justice: woe betides us everywhere when, for this reason or for that, we fail to do justice. There is but one thing needful for the world, but that one is indispensable. Justice, justice in the name of heaven; give us justice."

The negroes imitate and copy the customs aud ways of the Southern whites with absolute accuracy. They imitate us in the churches and in the ballroom. They imitate us in the school and in the theater, and, alas, also in the saloon. They imitate our habits and our language, our style, our dress—the negro girls are sure not to leave a single ribbon off. I do not blame them for such imitation of their superiors. I applaud their taste and good sense. But does it not impose a fearful responsibility on us to think that the destiny, the civilization, the weal, or the woe of this entire race depends on us? It does not matter what may be the end of it all, or what is the object or plan which the Creator has in view. It is enough for us to know that we can raise ourselves by raising others. To illustrate this point, I hope I may refer without irreverence to a passage of Scripture.

We are told that when the Son of Man shall come in His glory and call the good to their reward, He will bless them, not for their success as preachers or proselyters, but because they fed Him when hungry, gave him drink when thirsty, clothed Him when naked, visited Him when sick or in prision, and showed Him hospitality when a stranger, and when the righteous, overwhelmed with a sense of humility and unworthiness, shall disclaim having done such things for the Lord, the King shall answer in these signif-

icant words: "Verily I say unto you, inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren you have done it unto me."

If you will but think of it, there is a world of precious meaning in those words. I may be wrong. I know nothing about the rules of exegesis, but it seems to me that God Almighty acknowledges himself under obligations for an act of kindness to one of the least of his human creatures. Is it not so? Here we find the fountain of the idea of universal brotherhood of men. Here we find that devotion to the amelioration of humanity is the only road to salvation for individuals and for nations.

When I was young, in the heyday of my intellectual fervor, I strove to find out what is the highest good of existence—what is the noblest aim of human life. I searched the fields of literature, I interrogated the innermost recesses of nature; I asked the friendly stars that look down upon us from the marble walks of Heaven, and of the great all-seeing orb of day, as he sank to rest, I asked what is the highest good? And they were silent as the flight of time; but as I grew older the answer came, not from the all-seeing sun, not from the deep-eyed stars, not from the multitudinous voices of nature, but from a still small voice whose whispered accents none but the listening ear of conscience can catch, the answer came, "*Man's highest*

good is the service of man." This is the lesson of all civilization. It is the song of the ages. It is the psalm of humanity.

I have been asked as to the limitations that should be fixed to negro education. I think the only limitation should be his capacity and desire to learn. I do not believe, on general principles, in the government's extending aid to higher education except in so far as it is necessary to qualify teachers for the common schools. As long as there is a need of elementary education the government should confine its aid to the common schools. I think the negro is capable of comprehending and digesting all that is taught in such schools. I know it is said there is a limit to the negro's capacity to acquire learning and that secondary education is thrown away on him, and as the proof of this it is argued that his race will have to go through long periods of tutelage before it can grasp the ideas of science and advanced civilization. These are weak speculations. It is a matter of observation and experience that the negroes are deficient in powers of abstraction, generalization and reflection, but what may be their capacity to develop even these faculties is an unknown problem. The human mind during the vast area of prehistoric times advanced from generation to generation with incredible slowness. It was only after the substitution of metal for

instruments of horn and stone that rapid advance began which has been accelerated with incredible speed during the last few hours of racial existence. The human mind, which differs in different races, not in quality, but in degree merely, is like the wheat which lay imprisoned for 3000 years in the Egyptian sarcophagus, but burst into vitality as soon as exposed to the fructifying sunshine. So with the mind. The speed of its development depends more on environment than on race. What the negroes may attain under the highly favoring conditions of surrounding white intelligence, to what extent and at what rate of speed their mental faculties may develop must be all conjecture. A safe rule is to give them all the education they will take and improve. So with the question as to what branches should be taught to negroes. I see no reason why they should differ materially from the books taught to white children. Of course, white and negro schools must be and will be always kept separate. It might be well for the special benefit of this race to inculcate certain moral excellencies, such as honesty, truth, cleanliness, etc., but these matters are left properly to the teacher. I am very positive that the Southern history which is taught in negro schools should be written from a Southern standpoint, and that the true, unvarnished facts about slavery, about the treatment of the negroes before and after the war by the Southern

whites as compared with the treatment of the negroes by all other people should be impressed upon their minds. They would thus grow up to love and esteem their white fellow-citizens as they have done in the past.

The schools should be taught for longer terms, and the means with which to support them should be increased by increasing the poll tax and by urging the negroes to supplement the public funds by private subscriptions. But the great reform needed in negro education at the South is better teachers for negro schools. There is not a doubt that nine-tenths of the negro school teachers are totally unfit to teach the alphabet. The examination for teachers are farces, and in barely any case is the law followed. The result is that all over the South ignorant young colored girls are drawing meagre salaries for pretending to teach overcrowded schools. The few good colored schools are in the towns, and here the negroes have made phenomenal progress. But the sort of teaching carried on in the rural districts is a wanton waste of money. It would be better, far better and manlier, to stop the colored country schools altogether than to continue paying the people's money for education that is worth nothing. What is the remedy? Obviously, to devote a large portion of the funds now used for common schools to normal colored schools. In fact,

it would pay every State in the South to suspend its colored schools for two years and spend all the money now devoted to them in preparing colored teachers for their duty. I do not make this as a suggestion, but as an indication of the greatness of the evil to be eradicated. I call upon every Legislature in the South and charge it to take courageous hold of this subject. The only remedy is to prepare colored teachers for the colored schools, and I admit that colored teachers, when properly educated, are the best in the world for their own race.

You cannot get white teachers for colored schools in the South. There is a public sentiment which demands that the races be kept absolutely distinct, and forbids the least approach to social association. This is the prompting of a divine race instinct and not prejudice. A young lady from my State went out as a missionary and is teaching black children on the west coast of Africa. She has no race prejudice. Another Louisiana young lady is teaching half-blood Indians in South America, but at home she would have shirked from teaching negroes, not from hatred or prejudice, but in obedience to an inflexible and inexorable public opinion which makes and enforces laws as fixed as those of the Medes and Persians.

Say what you will, this public opinion is founded in the deepest philosophy. The races were made dis-

tinct by the Creator, and it would be impiety to efface the distinction. The one way to keep the races in the South distinct is to provide separate schools, separate churches, separate social walks, separate customs, and separate coaches, and he who censures these provisions is a traitor to nature and a rebel against divine wisdom. I believe in these race distinctions and separations as I believe firmly in the truth itself, and yet I affirm in the presence of my Maker that I have not a grain of prejudice against the negroes. I think of them with the utmost kindness. I feel nothing but friendship for them. From my boyhood I have found warm hearts beneath black bosoms, and I here endorse the verdict of Stanley that the Africans are the kindest and most affectionate people on the face of the earth. I have witnessed many such scenes as that which Stanley describes in his march to the Nyanza.

"We have also," says Stanley, "a Manyumo woman who was a hideous object, but her husband tended and served her with surpassing and devoted tenderness. Death, death everywhere and on every day and in every shape; but love, supreme love, stood like a guardian angel to make death beautiful. Poor, unlettered, meek creatures, the humblest of all humanity; yet here unseen and unknown of those who sing of noble sacrifices proving your brotherhood with

us amid the sternest realities by lulling your loved ones to rest with the choicest flowers of love."

I can never speak a harsh word of the negro when his character and disposition have not been perverted and poisoned by designing schemers. Whatever may be the solution of the tremendous race problem that confronts the South, I would never have one act done to mar the gentleness and charity with which we have ever treated the negroes. I shall forever cherish the memory of the friendship and tenderness with which my father treated his servants and the affection with which they responded to his treatment. Stonewall Jackson was the brave chevalier of the South. We are apt to think of him mounted on a steaming charger with drawn sword dashing on the enemy. Yet Jackson taught a negro Sunday school at Lexington, and I do not think a grander picture of him could be drawn than one which represents him standing with open book before his little school of pickaninies. Such was the character of the Napoleon of the confederacy.

I will not attempt to discuss the objections urged against the education of the negro. They live among us and here they will remain forever. The idea of exportation is absurd. Total disfranchisement is chimerical. The argument that white supremacy will be endangered by negro education does not deserve an answer. The claim that their enlightenment

will lead to social equality and amalgamation is equally untenable. The more intelligent the negro becomes the better he understands the true relations and divergencies of the races, the less he is inclined to social intermingling with the whites. Education will really emphasize and widen the social gulf between the whites and the blacks, to the great advantage of the state, for it is a heterogeneous and not homogeneous people that make a republic strong and progressive.

It is not my purpose nor my province to solve the race problem in all its momentous aspects. It has been my simple and modest duty to make a plea for state aid to negro education, and I want it remembered that I base my plea most of all on the high duty that springs from superiority of the white race. Whatever the effect of education on the negroes, we cannot afford to withhold from them the opportunity to attain their full mental and moral stature. Whatever be the imperfections and the incapacity of the negroes, we dare not be base in our treatment of them.

"It is excellent to have a giant's strength, but it is tyrannous to use it like a giant."

But it is not my intention to assume the rôle of mentor, still less of censor. As I said before, I am proud of the record the South has made on the subject of negro education. I own that I am a partial witness. I acknowledge that I am an interested

observer. I admire the North, I respect the East, I esteem the West. But I love the South, I love her dear familiar fields where I have wandered in boyhood's happy days. I love her bright skies, her murmuring streams, her fair flowers, and her soft delicious atmosphere, whose

> "Gentle gales, fanning their odoriferous wings,
> Dispense native perfumes, and whisper
> Whence they stole those balmy spoils."

I love her institutions, her customs, her ways, her noble men, and all the constellations of her glorious womanhood.

Heroic South! Home of my forefathers, home of my kindred, hope of my children, the temple and treasury of my heart.

March on in the pathway of honor, duty, and truth. Keep thy escutcheon bright as the shield of Launcelot in the tower of Elaine. Teach the world lessons of self-sacrifice, magnanimity, and humanity, and show to the ages how sublime and beautiful the lives of men can be made beneath the southern stars.

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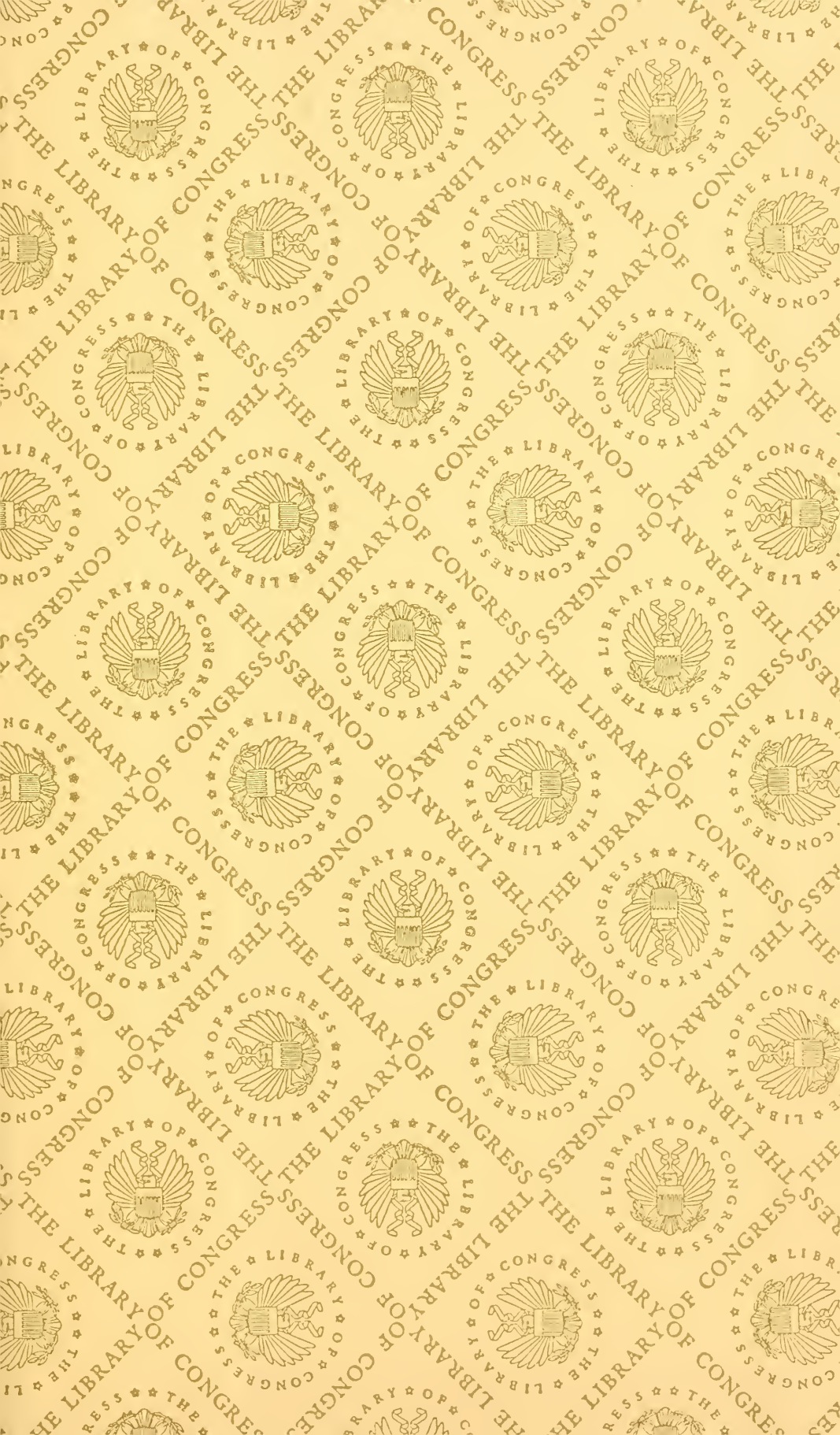
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